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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

REPUBLICAN STATE CONVENTION,

Held at Sacramento, June 20th, 1860.

Pursuant to call, the delegates chosen by the Republicans of the various counties of the State, to represent them in the selection of Republican Presidential Electors for California, met on Wednesday, June 21st, at Philharmonic Hall, Sacramento.

The Convention was called to order at precisely 11 A. M., by F. B. Folger, of San Francisco—the Chairman of the State Central Committee being absent.

The Chair announced the first business to be the nomination of temporary officers.

T. J. Blakeny, of Sacramento, nominated Charles G. Lincoln, of Butte, for President, *pro tem*.

Mr. Lincoln declined the honor.

F. F. Fargo, of Alameda, then placed in nomination James Churchman, of Nevada, who was elected.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT PRO TEM.

Mr. Churchman, assuming the Chair, said:

Gentlemen of the Convention: I have so often heard the old story repeated over and over at public meetings by those called to preside over them, that they were thankful for the great honor conferred—that they were diffident of their ability to preside over them—and would rather that some other person would be selected, etc., that it has got to be a stereotyped speech; and yet, upon this occasion, I hardly know what to say, except to follow in the old beaten track; for, gentlemen, I do esteem it a great honor to preside over a Convention like this, composed of such an intelligent body of men. As yet, we have not what is called the “rough timber” amongst us; but I have but little doubt that the time will soon arrive when our party, gathering strength, as it does, will have its share; and really, gentlemen, for my part, I should

have no objection if, at some future time, a row should get up amongst rowdies, that some, even amongst the shoulder-strikers, will not be ashamed to fight for Republicanism. [Laughter.] However, our object at the present time is to proceed to business—not to make long talk. You are sent to a State Convention for the purpose, and the only purpose, of placing four persons in nomination, to form an Electoral ticket, so that if our party is successful, they may cast their votes in favor of our nominee for the next President of the United States; and with the nomination of this ticket, our duties as a Convention will be at an end. I must confess, gentlemen, that I feel a little damped—slightly so—at hearing the cheering news that we received from Oregon contradicted, and it may be that by adding here and erasing there they have succeeded in throwing us behind in Oregon; but if that should turn out to be the case, why, still I feel like keeping up a kind of Dutch courage. I feel something as a German gentleman felt—a countryman of Dr. Rabe’s—who lived in Pennsylvania when General Taylor was running for President. Well, he was a violent anti-Taylor man, and a strong Cass and Butler man, and at the time of the election it was reported that Taylor had got a heavy majority in Lancaster, and he said: “Dem Vhigs need not to prag and poast about der majority in Lancaster for Sheneral Taylor. Shust wait until old Berks comes in with 7,000 majority for Cass and Bootler—dat vill come with a dunder knock on der head of dem Vigs, and vill flash across de Atlantic with lightning speed, and roll up to de feet of Queen Victoria, and says to dat despot, You’s a ruined woman.” [Applause and laughter.]

L. S. Ely, of Tehama, was appointed temporary secretary.

The President stated the first business before the Convention to be the appointment of a Committee on Credentials.

J. A. Nunes of San Francisco—I move that a Committee of five be appointed by the Chair.

J. M. Hurd of San Joaquin—I move as an amendment the appointment of a Committee of one from each county.

H. S. Love of San Francisco, thought the Committee as proposed by Mr. Hurd would be too large and cumbrous, and moved to table the amendment.

Wilson Flint of Sacramento, rose to a point of order; the first business before the Convention was, in his opinion, the calling of the list of the several delegates from the different counties.

Mr. Hurd withdrew his amendment.

Mr. Nunes argued in favor of his motion, which, being put by the Chair, was agreed to.

The President appointed the following delegates as the Committee: H. S. Love of San Francisco, C. G. Thomas of Santa Clara, D. D. Brunk of Nevada, John J. Linn of Placer and S. W. Baldwin of El Dorado.

IN RE-ORGANIZATION.

J. W. Cherry of San Francisco—I move that a committee of five be appointed on permanent organization, and that the Committee on Credentials be empowered to select the proper officers.

Louis R. Lull of San Francisco thought the motion out of order.

So ruled by the Chair.

RECESS.

On motion of Mr. Love, the Convention took a recess of half an hour, in order to allow the Committee on Credentials time to complete their report.

RE-ASSEMBLING.

At 1 P. M., the recess having expired, the Convention was called to order by the Chair.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

H. S. Love, Chairman of the Committee on Credentials, offered the following report:

Your Committee on Credentials beg leave to report the following delegates as entitled to seats in the Convention:

ALAMEDA (five votes)—A H Myers, A W Harris, F F Fargo, S Huff, W K Rowel.

AMADOR (ten votes)—James M Hanford, F S Dexter, P M Randal, Thos Jones, Minor Frink, J C Wicker, J D Mason, Francis Tibbetts, M B Church, W W Walch.

BUTTE (thirteen votes)—John Lytle, C G Lincoln, A McCloy, S F Hale, A L Chamberlin, Geo S Sumner, J W Woodman, Benjamin Gray, W S Williamson, D W C Gaskell, Charles Baird, Mulvin Williamson, J M McConnel.

CALAVERAS (eight votes)—W H Levitt, Francis Snyder, Archibald Campbell, S N Parker, William G Gray, Josiah Debeck, J Spaulding, M H Garland.

COLUSA (two votes)—C M Hance, George H Fitch.

CONTRA COSTA (three votes)—Seth M Swain, E C Whitmore, E F Cox.

DEL NORTE (two votes)—L S McClennan, George Kingsbury.

EL DORADO (fourteen votes)—G W Baldwin, William Jones, W H Pratt, E Harkness, A H Saxton, M W Sherman, J M Arnold, A V V Post, W O Applebee, S B Leavitt, Robert Chase, Samuel Center, David Baldwin, Samuel Winter.

FRESNO (two votes)—J B Aldrich.

HUMBOLDT (three votes)—E Tomlinson, J F S Beck, H S Waterman.

LOS ANGELES (two votes)—Lewis Sperry, Hec M Forbes.

MARIN (two votes)—H S Love.

MARIPOSA (two votes)—Gilbert A Grant, Richard McCaffrey.

NAPA (four votes)—G W Fowle.

NEVADA (fourteen votes)—Israel Crawford, J H Fuller, E F Spence, D D Brunk, R Abbey, J Churchman, A W Councilman, David Roowyer, P P Huntly, R H Raymond, J S Dunn, S B Caswell, J C Harmer, L Horton.

PLACER (ten votes)—John J Lynn, S R Bradley, John Fule, George Haycock, Robert McClellan, J J Fitch, A B Skull, A B Burt, J B Starbuck, C D Hillyer.

PLUMAS (five votes)—T J McCormick, Frank Drake, Matt Howell, Tom Cox, James H McNabb.

SACRAMENTO (fifteen votes)—L H Foote, G Rowland, S M Bailey, E N Robinson, J McNeil, E H Bishop, C C Jenks, E H Heacock, W H Weeks, T J Hull, W Flint, J Lake, E T Bolles, N D Thayer, A D De Long.

SAN BERNARDINO (two votes)—A Newman, W S Clark.

SAN DIEGO (two votes)—Wm. Rabe.

SAN FRANCISCO (twenty-nine votes)—Thomas Morse, H. S. Love, J. H. Atkinson, C. W. Rand, Sam'l Gammage, Charles A. Washburn, J. A. Nunes, S. H. Ford, W. O. T. Smith, Wm. Shew, Caleb Burbank, F. B. Folger, Ira P. Rankin, Henry Wetherby, G. H. Ensign, N. C. Lane, R. E. Stearns, William Ireland, Charles Bernis, D. W. Van Court, P. Witbeck, W. Diggins, C. A. Sumner, Jacob Moore, Thomas Ogg Shaw, Egbert Judson, J. W. Cherry.

SAN JOAQUIN (five votes)—J. S. Locke, C. C. Rynerson, D. J. Locke, J. M. Hurd, E. J. McIntosh.

SAN MATEO (two votes)—A. B. Morton, David Marvin.

SANTA CLARA (four votes)—C. G. Thomas, D. C. Norcross, H. Wade, F. B. Murdoch.

SANTA CRUZ (three votes)—F. M. Kittridge, Charles Brown, Thomas Eager.

SIERRA (nine votes)—J. M. Rigby, A. J. Quigley, J. Conly, G. Taylor, Sol. Purdy, J. W. Haven, C. P. Combs, G. H. Hayes, W. N. Tracy.

SISKIYOU (seven votes)—William Rabe.

SOLANO (five votes)—J. W. Jones, F. M. Campbell, William Shephard, Seth Sanborn, Joseph Hewlitt.

SONOMA (six votes)—S. W. Brown, Charles Hopkins, B. C. Bell, G. W. Granis, T. K. Willson, S. S. Todd.

STANISLAUS (two votes)—C. S. S. Hill, — Langworthy.

SUTTER (two votes)—G. M. Hanson, S. Haswell.

TEHAMA (two votes)—L. S. Ely, S. H. Dupuy.

TRINITY (four votes)—B. F. Flinn, J. C. Mason, G. H. Bunker, J. F. Chellis.

TULARE AND BUENA VISTA (two votes)—H. G. McLean.

TUOLUMNE (nine votes)—C. H. Walcott, E. C. Hartman, J. Patterson, G. Fellows, G. C. Havens, D. S. Turner, Thomas Magelton, W. S. Cooper, M. D. Haskin.

YOLO (three votes)—J. C. Hawley, W. J. Johnson, G. W. Reed.

YUBA (ten votes)—W. Hartwell, Charles G. Bockins, W. K. Hudson, J. R. Deardoff, T. J. Sherwood, J. Seaward, Richard H. Bliss, William Carpenter, L. T. Crane, J. B. Hubbard.

Mr. Frink—I now move that the report be adopted so far as it relates to the delegates resident in the counties they represent, and also so far as it relates to the proxies who are resident in the counties they represent; leaving the balance for further consideration. My object in making this motion is not to deny the right of any proxies who are here, who hold the proxies of delegates who reside in remote counties of the State. The question relative to the admission of proxies who are not residents of the counties they represent, can be decided by the future action of the Convention. My object is simply at this time to adopt so much of the report as includes delegates residents of the counties they represent, and proxies, also,

residents of the counties they represent ; and then, this portion of the report adopted, the Convention can decide upon the question of admission to seats upon this floor proxies who are not residents of the counties they represent. I will say this, that if proxies are to be used as they have been used heretofore in Conventions, that the delegates to this Convention might as well retire and go home. It is useless to call that a State Convention where a large number of proxies from remote counties are held and used by individuals in San Francisco, or any other county ; leaving, as it does in effect, in a few men the entire control of the Convention and the general management of the Republican party in this State. I wish that portion of the report embraced in my motion to be adopted, and then I wish the Convention to adopt a rule that no proxies shall be admitted who do not reside in the counties in which they hold their proxies.

Mr. Love—I hope the motion will not prevail, and for this reason : The State of California embraces a large amount of territory, and the Republicans who reside in Los Angeles or San Diego have as much right to be represented as the county of Amador, which is represented in part by the gentleman who has offered this motion ; but I would ask, can we expect a man in Los Angeles will travel five or six hundred miles at a vast expense to cast a vote in this Convention ? Or can we suppose that a man will ever travel even two or three hundred miles simply for this purpose ? Yet they may be as good Republicans as any in the State, and are therefore entitled to be heard upon this floor. Why, then, cannot the people of these counties meet together and nominate or elect some one as a delegate in whom they have confidence in order to cast for them the vote of their county ? That is the plan that has been adopted in various counties heretofore. The Republicans get together ; they elect some one to cast their vote ; they are heard and are represented, and the labor and expense of this five or six hundred miles of travel is saved, and every part of the State is thus represented. I hope the motion will not prevail. If it does—if a precedent of this kind is set by this Convention—that proxies not residing in the counties they represent shall be excluded at the next State Convention, not one quarter of the State will be represented. Why, it is difficult even to get delegates from San Francisco, although they can take a boat at four o'clock, and can get back in a day or so. They do not wish to spend the time—leave their business—and of course this must apply with much greater force to the residents of distant counties. I think it much better that the whole State should be represented. It will reflect more truly the wishes of the people of the whole State, and will look much better in our proceedings.

Mr. Hillyer—I heartily support the motion of the delegate from Amador (Mr. Frink). I think it will be gross injustice, if gentlemen are allowed to cast the proxy votes for counties in which they do not reside. There are gentlemen who have come here with a large number of proxies from remote districts, and it is said that it is proper that these counties should be represented, but I say that it is no representation of these counties because certain individuals in San Francisco or Sacramento are allowed to cast the votes of the county. It turns out practically that, for instance, Siskiyou county thus represented by proxy, casts her vote not according to the public opinion of Siskiyou county, according to the opinions of certain individuals in San Francisco or Sacramento. Now these remote counties may have different interests, a different population, a different public opinion in many respects from a central county or commercial city, and their influence should be heard

and felt in this Convention ; but that entirely fails to be carried out when in the Convention. Los Angeles or Siskiyou county is called, and some man from San Francisco or Sacramento records the vote of the county. If there is any county in this State that does not feel sufficiently interested to send delegates here, and to tell us what are the wishes of the people of their county, they cannot say it is our fault if they are not represented ; but even then I do claim that those counties which do not send delegates are better represented by the Republicans in this Convention at large, than if their vote was cast by some man in San Francisco or Sacramento. [Applause.] If they cannot come here themselves, they had better leave the matter in the hands of the Republicans of the State, than to leave it in the hands of one man. I am warmly in support of the motion. [Applause.]

Mr. Weeks—I heard the report read, but did not hear a word about proxies. I believe this debate is entirely out of order. The list of the counties has been called over from Del Norte to Los Angeles, and not a word has been said in it about proxies.

Mr. Brunk—I believe there is one proxy named in the report.

Voice—Yes, two.

Mr. Brunk—Very well. But there is another feature in the report. There are members reported as being elected in different counties who live in San Francisco, and I believe that this covers a principle that the Republicans of the present day are opposed to. And I believe it is the wish of this Convention to put a stop to the evils that are sure to result from such influences being brought to bear upon a Convention. [Applause.]

Mr. Weeks—I move as a substitute for the motion of the delegate from Amador, that the report as read be adopted.

Mr. Flint—We have as yet adopted no rules for the Convention. If the delegates from Amador and Sacramento will withdraw the motion, and substitute temporarily, I will move that this Convention adopt Jefferson's Manual as the rule to govern the Convention. I am afraid we are going to get into a difficulty, and it is proper that we should adopt rules so that the Chair can decide.

Mr. Lull—Although we are a Convention, yet we are not yet a Republican Convention. It is proper that we should know who are the delegates before we adopt rules. It is getting the cart before the horse, to adopt rules before we know that we have delegates.

Mr. Flint—Then it is not a proper time to raise the question now before the Convention. I move that the report of the Committee be received, and then the consideration of the report will come up properly.

Mr. Frink—I move that the report be recommitted to the Committee, with instructions to write out the names of all the proxies.

The Chair—The question will be upon the reception of the report.

The question being taken, the report was received.

Mr. Fargo—I now renew the motion to adopt so much of the report as embraces the delegates present residents of the counties they represent.

Mr. Love—Do you mean to follow it up ?

Mr. Fargo—I do.

Mr. Rabe—I did not intend to say anything on this subject, but now, as I think this move intended especially against me, it may be well for me to define the position I mean to take in this body. I am Secretary of the State Central Committee, and as such it has been the pleasure of a number of the counties that have looked upon my acts as deserv-

ing of their confidence, and the confidence of the county, to empower me, by their County Conventions, to cast the vote of their county.

Mr. Brunk—I call the gentleman to order. He is not speaking to the question.

Mr. Rabe—Upon this question I believe I have a right to explain. I presume my friend don't mean to choke me off. I believe I have the right to explain the position I mean to take. I mean to speak close to the point. Those who do not reside in a county they represent in this Convention, may be just as good Republicans as those new fangled Democrats who object to proxies casting the vote of the county. Now, take an instance. It has pleased the county of San Diego to pass resolutions congratulating the Republicans that the State Central Committee had a Secretary who had so well discharged the duties of his office; that he was a man who would work hard without any pay; and in view of the esteem and confidence they felt in him, they, in their County Convention, thought proper to appoint him a delegate, with full power to cast the vote of their county. Now, I wish further to say, that I say what I mean. I am not a man to dodge any question. I am a man bold and open. I am what you call a personal responsibility man. And it has pleased also the county of Humboldt, to say that Dr. William Rabe shall cast the vote of their county in this State Convention; and, by the help of God, Dr. William Rabe will cast the vote of that county. [Applause.] And it has also pleased the county of San Diego to say that Dr. William Rabe has well and faithfully attended to the duties of his office, and they have instructed him to cast the vote of their county; and, by the help of God, Dr. William Rabe will cast the vote of that county. [Applause.] And Dr. William Rabe never yet said what he did not mean to do. Also, it has pleased the county of Siskiyou, in Convention assembled, to address letters to me, testifying their regard for my services, and requesting me to cast the vote of the county, as it was too difficult for any of them to come as delegates. Now, I did not suppose there would be any wrangling upon this question. And there is not any wrangling in the great Republican party. I am pleased to see that we are harmonious. The opposition comes from the outside, not the inside. Well, they requested me to cast the vote of Siskiyou county, and I should like to see the man that would dare to say—yes, will dare to say that I shall not cast the vote of that county. Now, I said I had letters written from different counties, and as sure as my name is Rabe, I did not seek those compliments. I am sure that the delegates in question, not residents of counties they represent, are good Republicans, and were such in times gone by, and it is highly probable that, when we in those early Republican days risked our lives in propagating Republican doctrines, those very ardent and active gentlemen, now preaching to us, probably were the most bitter and foul-mouthed to denounce us; and they have only shifted the scene and are again here to distract a harmonious and friendly meeting.

Now, I mean to say this: I look upon the Republican party as being composed of men of intelligence, and it is all fudge for those old Democratic stagers to tell us that we shall ruin the party. They are trying to make bug-bear about nothing. One word as to the course I intend to pursue in relation to these proxy votes held by me: I intend to wait until this Convention have given some candidate a majority, and then I mean to give that majority candidate, whoever he may be, these votes of the counties I represent. [Cheers.] I am a Republican, a Southern man, and—a Dutchman, if you please; [laughter,] but I have worked, and I intend to work, hard for the party. And it is well known that the Germans of the East and West are as

ardent Republicans as any, and the California Germans will certainly prove equal to their Brethren. A German is a Republican by instinct. [Repeated and loud applause.] There are my works—here are my books. Look, and judge of my works and acts, and decide whether it is not outrageous to pervert the honors which a large number of Republicans have chosen to bestow upon me into a crusade against me.

Mr. Frink—I can assure the gentleman that the "crusade," as he calls it, was not intended against him, but there seemed to be some difficulty in getting a starting point; therefore, I thought that the delegates residing in their several counties might be considered Simon Pure delegates; then I intended to follow it up by proposing to admit proxies whose papers were regularly made out; but if I understand the feeling of this Convention, it desires to have a different rule adopted upon this question than has been the rule heretofore.

Mr. Hurd—I would ask the Chair how far this motion will extend in relation to proxies?

The Chair—Simply this far: It will admit the delegates who are not in dispute.

Mr. Hurd—If I understand the motion aright, it will preclude all the proxies from voting on this floor, until they are admitted by the Convention.

The Chair—The Chair does not so understand the effect of the motion.

Mr. Hurd—Because I hold that a proxy is entitled to his vote until such time as the Convention shall take some action in reference to the question. When the Convention declares that a proxy who does not reside in the county shall not be permitted to cast the vote of that county, then, of course, they can not vote; but until that time a proxy has as much right to vote as any member in the Convention.

Loud cries of "Question!" "Question!"

Question upon the motion.

It was carried.

Mr. Fargo—I now move that all proxies present, who reside in the counties they represent, be permitted to vote as delegates in this Convention.

Carried.

Mr. Love—I move that all persons duly elected by Republicans in the counties be admitted to vote, and the delegates present cast the vote of the absentees.

Mr. Flint—I desire to have a few words to say upon this matter, and I agree with the gentleman from Almador that this is a dangerous precedent. We have been told by Dr. Rabe, very refreshingly, that he has been appointed a delegate from various counties. Now, this points out to us a new mode of forming a Convention. Dr. Rabe ought to have a patent right for the invention. The Secretary of the State Central Committee, being of course in communication with the several counties of the State, has it in his power, when county organizations are not perfected, by virtue of that correspondence, to secure in his own keeping and control a majority of the votes cast in the Convention. [Voices, "That's so."] Now, I do not charge the present Secretary of the Central Committee with having done this, or having endeavored to do this; but the fact is patent, that the Secretary holds a large number of proxies; and it is also evident, the modes by which they were obtained, and in which they are sought to be employed.

Mr. Rabe—What is the mode? Explain it, sir.

Mr. Flint—I was a member of the Democratic party always, until 1856, when I voted for John C. Fremont for President. [Applause] I always voted against this proxy system in the Democratic party, and I can trace the downfall of the party to that iniquitous system. ["That's it." Applause] The low working members of that party have made it their business to search out and obtain proxies from remote districts

and by this mode, have come into Democratic Conventions, and controlled them. By this means, often times, resolutions have been passed, and measures endorsed, in those Conventions, which never would have received the sanction of a properly and fairly organized body of Democrats.

Mr. Love, interruptingly—I rise to a point of order. I would inquire of the gentleman now addressing the Convention, where he resides? The gentleman, I am informed, is not reported as a delegate from the county in which he resides. I therefore think that the gentleman is out of order.

Mr. Flint—Well, I will leave that question to be settled by the balance of my delegation. I reside in Sutter township, in this county. I was elected a delegate yesterday. I was elected against this very clique of men who are now engaged in the Republican party in conducting the proxy system. [Applause.] In this connection, I wish to make a singular statement of facts. The Secretary of the State Central Committee, (Dr. Rabe,) came up here, a day or two ago, and went to individual members, and urged them to oppose my election to the Convention, stating that I was no more a resident of Sacramento, than he, (Dr. Rabe,) was. The statement was false upon its face.

Mr. Rabe—I will answer all that in due time, my good fellow.

Mr. Flint—My wife and my surviving child live here, under my own vine and fig tree, and I am not going to be disfranchised from any quarter or by any number of proxies. It is true, I have business relations in San Francisco, and I have had such relations for eleven years past. My home was formerly there, but for the last two or three years my home has been in Sacramento county. Now I don't speak on account of any individual, personal feeling in the premises; I speak of this for the cause of Republicanism; and I speak thus because I have seen in State Conventions heretofore this peculiar system carried out, to the virtual destruction of the Democratic party. Most likely, other questions will come up that will create as much excitement as this, when we arrive at them. I will not allude to them now; but I heartily oppose this proxy system, for the reasons that I have stated.

Mr. Lull—[Interrupting]—Will the gentleman allow me to ask a question?

Mr. Flint—Certainly.

Mr. Lull—What do you mean by the "proxy system?" When the people of Siskiyou, or any other county, meet in mass convention, and elect yourself, or any other gentleman, to represent them in the State Convention, would you then call yourself, or that man so elected, whoever he might be, a proxy, or a representative of the people?

Mr. Flint—A proxy, sir.

Mr. Lull—That is not my understanding of the matter. I was under the impression that a proxy was one who *acts for another*. If a man receives authority from another, who is elected a delegate to a Convention, he is constituted a proxy—he acts in place of a principal. But whenever the people of any county or district meet in mass convention, and elect a non resident of that county or district to act for them in the State Convention, that man is not a proxy; would be more fitly called a representative delegate. He is not next to the man elected as delegate—which the word "proxy" would imply.

Mr. Flint—I don't agree with you, there.

Mr. Lull—That is what the word means in the English language.

Mr. Love—I beg leave to interrupt the gentlemen, for a moment, in order that I may make a personal explanation. I stated, a short time since,

that I was informed that Mr. Flint was not a resident of this county. I am satisfied that I was misinformed. I cheerfully retract the statement. I made the remark out of no disrespect to the gentleman.

Mr. Flint—I am perfectly satisfied with the gentleman's explanation. I will not detain the Convention any longer in speaking on this subject. I only wished to state the proposition, that, it is fatal to any political party to allow delegates to be elected to a party Convention who do not reside in the localities they are elected to represent. It brings about irresponsible and destructive action in the Convention. If I reside in San Francisco, or Sacramento, and I am elected a delegate from Siskiyou, what care I for, even if I am thoroughly sincere in a desire, to correctly represent that people? What do I know of the sentiments of the Republicans there, on all the questions that may arise? How, in any sense, can a San Franciscan represent seven votes from Siskiyou? I might make Siskiyou indorse some resolutions or principles of action which the people would be opposed to. (A Voice—Then, the people of Siskiyou are responsible, and not us.) This proxy system results in continual misrepresentations of the people's sentiments, and is, or it ought to be, fatal to the healthy existence of any political party. [Applause.]

The Chair restated the question.

Mr. Frink—I have a few remarks further to make, but will not trouble the Convention long. I still hold to the position which I first took in this matter. If the Republicans of Siskiyou or San Diego cannot afford to send a single delegate to this body to represent them here, can we consider them as Republicans? Ought we, for the good of the party, to allow a proxy system, or an oppression of that character? That would injure any party. We, who live in the interior of the State, expend our money to get here, for the purpose of attending the Convention, to arrange a programme and platform, and put candidates in the field; and, if the remote counties are to be permitted to offer proxies to this or that person—a resident of one of the great central cities—to so great an extent as has been done, the Republican party in California will grow beautifully less. [Applause.] Now, sir, to get at this matter. I feel that all sent here are good Republicans, but I am looking to the good of the party, and for that purpose I made my motion. I now propose to make another motion for the purpose.

The President—There is one motion already before the Convention.

Mr. Frink—I propose moving to lay that on the table.

Mr. Love—I call the gentleman to order. The Convention cannot entertain two distinct and different motions at one and the same time.

The Chair ruled the motion out of order.

Mr. Frink—If in order, I would like to read a resolution which I have in my hand.

Charles Crocker—I wish to say one word: This same question was up before the last State Convention, and was referred to this Convention for action. It was not deemed advisable to act on it then. Now it seems a plain proposition. We have admitted proxies heretofore and the counties of Siskiyou and San Diego have certainly been given to understand that they might be so represented until there is a rule adopted by the party in Convention assembled that no more may be admitted. I think myself it is bad policy that non-residents of any counties should be permitted to represent those counties in this Convention or any other. But

until the rule is changed, distant counties know we will not recognize non-resident proxies. I think they should be admitted. Dr. Rabe has been elected by the Republicans of Siskiyou. They supposed he would be admitted because such has been permitted heretofore. This matter was, as I have said, before the last Convention but not acted on; therefore I think the springing this question at this time is premature, and that we should now admit as heretofore those delegates present who hold proxies.

F. F. Fargo—I believe the gentleman himself is not a member of this Convention.

Mr. Nunes—Yes! proxies from counties have been admitted.

Mr. Crocker—I admit that I am a proxy, but proxies have been talking here. I am about done now.

Voice—Go on!

W. H. Weeks of Sacramento—I am not a proxy; I am here by virtue of popular election; but I recollect distinctly the facts in regard to this matter as stated by Mr. Crocker. At the last Republican State Convention held in this city, it was moved, or rather a resolution was offered, by Mr. Chillis, (the gentleman now in front of me, who is from Trinity, I believe,) providing that for the future no proxies should be admitted as members. The resolution elicited some discussion, and the point was raised that the matter had better be referred to the counties for an expression of their opinion. It was referred, not to the Convention, but to the State Central Committee, to take such action as they should think proper in relation to this body. If they decided to announce that no proxies would be admitted, then that was to be the rule for the organization of this Convention. If they failed to inaugurate that doctrine, or lay it down as a rule that no proxies would be admitted, then this Convention was to be constituted on the same basis as all others in this State have heretofore been. Was not that so, Mr. Chillis?

Mr. Chillis—Pretty much.

Mr. Weeks—I say, with Mr. Crocker, that, exclusion of proxies at this time, would be a breach of faith to the members of the Republican party in distant counties. Siskiyou, Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Bernardino, have sent their proxies to various gentlemen. Others hold them here beside Dr. Rabe, and I say, it would be gross injustice to those sections of the State to decide that those delegates with proxies sent here should not be heard. Mr. Flint tells us about what ruined the Democratic party. Well, he and I helped to do it, thank God. [Tremendous applause, and laughter.] And I tell you, gentlemen of this Convention, that if you do not keep your hand on Flint and myself, we shall ruin you too. [Renewed applause and laughter.]

The President—The motion is, that all proxies, certified here as having been duly elected, be admitted without regard to residence.

Mr. Nunes—I think this matter can be settled very amicably, as we understand what was the position of the party in the last Convention. The subject was referred to the State Central Committee, the account of which will be found in the *Sacramento Union*, of the 23d February last. I move, as a substitute for the resolution offered, to insert after the word "Resolved," the following: "That hereafter, no proxies shall be received from any county, unless residents in that county; and that the State Central Committee shall be instructed to notify counties in calling future Conventions."

The President—The only way to get through

business speedily, is to keep every question distinctly by itself. State the question again.

Mr. Frink—I am equally opposed to the resolution as I am to the proxy system. I see that what has been admitted heretofore to Republicans in the interior of the State, is now being claimed as a right. Now, sir, as I said at first, I believe it is just as fair for proxies, where they have been made by remote counties, to be used in this Convention. But I am opposed to granting the right to the Republicans of Siskiyou or San Diego, to have Republicans resident in Sacramento or any other county than their own, represent them in this Convention, and that I say to be the question before us. I am opposed to that equally as I am opposed to the proxy system, because it is only the proxy system under another name. Under it you have a consolidation of power at some central point in the State which would render any party—the Republican party or any other—like the pollywog, an immense head and a very small tail. Now, sir, I am opposed to that motion, and I hope it will not prevail. [Laughter.]

Caleb Burbank—I would thank the Chairman to state to me and the Convention what the question now under consideration is, so that I cannot get them mixed up.

The President stated it.

Mr. Burbank—I so understand it. I have one word to say in relation to it, and when I say it do not say it is taking sides with any party here.

We come here to reason first and learn what is right, and then, when we have seen what is right—when we have talked together—when we have reasoned together—then we will come up and act. Let all say that, with me, and then we know where we are. Now, it is true that, heretofore, throughout the State, with the Republican party, it has been understood that San Diego or Siskiyou might so elect—that is, that they might elect some one, for convenience sake, out of their own county to represent them? I understand that it has been so understood, and that such elections have taken place according to that understanding. Now, I am not going to discuss the question now, whether that is a good rule or not; I will get to that by-and-by, when it comes up.

The simple question which presents itself now is, whether having been elected in that way, the delegates have the right; whether the Republicans of those counties ought, under the circumstances, to be heard in the manner in which they have proposed to be heard. Now, what is right in that case? I am not prepared to say anything about the rule that has been adopted heretofore—nothing about that now. But I say that I am unprepared to say to the Republicans of San Diego or Siskiyou: You cannot be heard here to-day, when the sun of Republicanism is rising; (applause,) when we are all hoping, and have reason to hope, I say I am not willing to say this; I would not, under any circumstances, when those counties or others had reason to believe that they were expressing themselves in the way which had been practiced heretofore, and which would be sanctioned here now, otherwise they would have adopted some other course—they want to be heard. As to what rule we shall adopt hereafter, that's another affair. But now, as I must speak as a candid man, I do not know that there is anything going on, which is antagonistic—one section against another. I am glad to say, up and down, fair and square, that I do not know a thing about it, anyway, and I hope that I shall not know. To be sure differences will arise here, and they have got to be settled, and we have got to settle them like men, honestly, truly and firmly. But, before any one question is settled, that question is entitled to the consideration, to the reason, to the understanding of every man who wishes his opinion and judgment to be known upon that question. I will not detain this audience longer, (go on, go on, from many voices,) but I

will simply say that I don't believe that this Convention will say to any county, under the rule which has been adopted heretofore and never altered, that we will now, without their consent, change the rule.

That won't do. My own opinion is that we ought at this time, considering what has taken place heretofore, to let all those gentlemen who have been elected by particular counties—although they themselves live in another county—be heard here for those Republicans. This is my idea simply; unless some view shall be offered inconsistent with or controlling this, I shall have to act upon this in all the sincerity that the question requires. That is the way I understand it; that is the way I shall feel constrained to act unless I hear some good and strong reasons against it—some which are stronger than those which have been thus far offered here.

Mr. Frink—May be I misunderstood the motion of the gentleman (Love) from San Francisco. I agree with Mr. Burbank; but I understood the gentleman (Love) from San Francisco who made the motion, that hereafter the Republicans of Siskiyou, San Diego and other remote counties could elect.

The President again stated the question.

Mr. Love—I believe the matter is plain. I will not trespass upon the time and patience of this Convention, but I want to make one suggestion. Now, certainly, we ought not to be wiser than the National Convention that met at Chicago, and who nominated for our standard-bearer Abraham Lincoln [applause], who is destined to lead the Republican party on to battle and to victory. [Applause.] We ought not to be wiser than they. What did that Convention do? A man residing in the city of New York (out of respect for this Convention I will not mention his name) [applause]; a man residing in the city of New York cast the vote of Oregon in that Convention. Now, my friend from Amador (Mr. Frink), I agree with him in a great many things, but I do not agree with him about one thing. I am for making the Republican party strong in the head and small at the tail. [Laughter.] I suppose my friend wants to have it constructed on the principle of a skunk—small at the head and strong at the tail. [Laughter.]

I must disagree with my friend from Amador, in that respect. What will be the result, if we pass a resolution that a county cannot elect a delegate who does not reside within her limits? What will be the result? It will virtually disfranchise the people of San Diego, Siskiyou, and many other counties. We can correct this matter, now, and have no difficulty in the future. What authority have the people of San Diego or Los Angeles to elect these delegates? Why, the State Central Committee issue their call, and they say to the county of Los Angeles, "Assemble in Convention, and appoint so many delegates to represent you in the State Convention." Do they say to the people of Los Angeles, "Elect a man who lives in Los Angeles, and nowhere else?" By no manner of means. The people of Los Angeles ought to have been instructed on that subject. They did not understand anything about that, and they elect a man who happens to live beyond the boundary of their county. Are we to disfranchise Los Angeles? If we so act towards that and other counties, I am very sure the Republican party will be small at the head, as well as small at the tail.

A. H. Myers, of Alameda—In justice to Dr. Rabe, I wish to have him repeat again, the statement he made, which was about this: That, holding several of these proxies, he would wait, before

casting them, until he ascertained who really had received the highest number of votes in this Convention, and then throw them for such candidates, which would be respecting the will of this body. I had intended opposing this matter, but if I am correct in my understanding of the explanation and generous proposition which Dr. Rabe has made, in relation to his proxies, I cannot offer any opposition.

Wm. Rabe—I will simply make my statement over again. I may say, here, that I also stated it yesterday, before this Convention met. I never intended to cast a vote by which it could be said any one was elected by my proxies. I only intended, or intend, casting my proxy votes that those counties which have thus honored me, may not appear unrepresented in the Convention. [Applause.]

Wilson Flint—That satisfies me perfectly, only I should like to see it extended a little farther. I move that all proxies elected in the same manner, vote so also.

Mr. Nunes—I hope the gentleman will not press that. We have work to do, and but little time to do it in.

Mr. Flint—I do not know by what right Dr. Rabe is to be selected out and disfranchised here. I move that all proxies elected in the like manner as himself vote in the same way.

The President—The Chair hears no second.

Mr. Flint—Yes! there was a second.

Mr. Love—I move the previous question.

Mr. Flint withdrew his amendment, and the call for the main question was sustained.

The question being on the motion to admit all proxies, it was adopted with great unanimity.

Mr. Nunes—I now offer my resolution:

Resolved, That hereafter no delegate or proxy shall be allowed to represent any county or part of a county in a Republican State Convention, unless such delegate or proxy be a resident of such county, and that the State Central Committee be instructed to include this resolution in the call for future State Conventions.

Mr. Fargo—Perhaps it would be better to postpone further business until the Convention is permanently organized.

Mr. Nunes withdrew the resolution.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Fargo—I move that a committee of one from each Judicial District be appointed to report names for permanent officers.

Mr. Weeks—Include order of business too.

Mr. Fargo—Yes, and order of business.

C. Crocker—I would like to know if I am a member of the Convention.

Mr. Weeks—You're a proxy. [Laughter]

Mr. Crocker—All right.

Mr. Fargo's motion was amended on motion, by requiring the delegates from the several Judicial Districts to appoint one from their own District to act as one of the Committee on Organization and Order of Business, and adopted.

A reconsideration was moved, and lost.

The roll of the districts was called by the Secretary, and the Committee named as follows:

First District—Louis R Lull.

Second District—H S Love.

Third District—Frank F Fargo.

Fourth District—C Burbank.

Fifth District—T H Locke.

Sixth District—C C Jenks.

Seventh District—C W Brown.

Eighth District—Wm Rabe.

Ninth District—J F Chellis.

Tenth District—Geo M Hannon.

Eleventh District—C J Hillyer.

Twelfth District—J G Morton.

Thirteenth District—C S S Hill.

Fourteenth District—I Crawford.

Fifteenth District—J O Smith.

Sixteenth District—C P Boucher.
Seventeenth District—J H Hayes.}

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. Love—I move that a committee of five be appointed by the Chair, to draft resolutions expressive of the sense of this Convention.

Agreed to.

The President named H S Love, G A Grant, C G Thomas, W H Weeks and T H Osborne.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Lull, Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization, presented their report as follows

PRESIDENT—J. A. Nunes.

VICE PRESIDENTS—C. Burbank, F. S. Dexter, G. W. Baldwin, L. H. Foote, and J. F. Chellis.

SECRETARIES—R. E. C. Stearnes and Charles G. Lincoln.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS—C. Howe.

The report was adopted.

Mr. Fargo stated that as there was but one matter of business before the Convention, the Committee would offer no report thereon.

Mr. Lull moved the appointment of a Committee of two to conduct the President elect to the Chair.

Agreed to, and the Chair appointed, as such Committee, Messrs. Lull and Rabe.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. Nunes, on assuming the Chair, amidst great and prolonged applause, said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION:—I return you my sincere thanks for the honor you have conferred on me, and I tender those thanks, not merely because you have selected me to preside over a Republican State Convention, but also because your partiality has shown itself in connection with this particular Convention, whose nominees will cast the first Republican vote of California, for the first Republican President of the United States. [Applause.] For it is as sure as the ultimate triumph of truth, or as the march of time, that the Republican party will be successful in the coming election, and that Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, will be the next national President. [Applause.]

Gentlemen of the Convention:—When under the leadership of the gallant Fremont [Great and prolonged applause], we went into the contest of 1856, we denounced the objects of our adversaries, and proclaimed that the Democratic party, if successful, would be intent only on the extension of slavery, to the utter disregard of the true interests of the country, and in utter contempt of the Constitution of the United States. Our predictions, then, were slighted, but they have since been fulfilled and more than fulfilled; for, in addition to the sectional character which the Democratic party has earned for itself, we are daily startled by indisputable proofs of the wildest extravagance committed by the present Administration, and of the most profligate corruption in every department of the National Government. The facts are too painful in themselves, and too disgraceful to the nation to be the basis of party exultation, but we necessarily and naturally sympathize with the honest masses, and, with them, we are resolved that the reproach shall be obliterated—that the country shall be redeemed from the hands of the spoilers, and restored, not only to Republican principles, but also to that simplicity and purity which should be characteristic of free people, and upon which, in the past, we have been wont to pride ourselves. [Great applause.]

From the Kennebec to the Mississippi, aye, and across the continent to Oregon [Glorious Oregon, our younger sister, but yesterday recovered from Democratic misrule], true hearts will be engaged

in the work of regeneration, and California will be with them. [Applause.] We have labored long in this State; hoped almost against hope, and worked untiringly in darkness and adversity; but now, thank God! the storm has almost ceased, the clouds are rising, while we can already see the sunlight of Republicanism glimmering in the East; and where, in November next, we join in the jubilee of an exultant nation—exultant at the election of Abraham Lincoln, the patriot President—we will exclaim and feel that

“Night is past—joy cometh with the morrow.”
[Great applause.]

On motion, the Convention now took a recess for one hour.

RE-ASSEMBLING.

The Committee on Resolutions asked for further time in which to report.

Further time was granted.

Mr. Lull—I move that the Convention proceed to elect Presidential Electors.

Agreed to.

It was moved that where the delegations were not full, the entire vote of the county or district should be cast by the majority of the delegation present.

Mr. Churchman was inclined to oppose this motion. He believed in thorough individual action, and did not believe in cliques, or a clannish mode of action.

Motion carried.

NOMINATIONS.

Nominations being announced in order, the following named gentlemen were presented: Edward Stanley, Geo M Hansom, G W Baldwin, Charles A Tuttle, G W Reed, J F Polton, L C Gunn, James Churchman, S D Parker, W H Weeks, Fletcher M Haight, Mark Hopkins, Charles A Washburn, A W Blair, John C Fremont, A H Myers, A A DeLong and Mark H Sibley.

The nomination of John C. Fremont was received with tremendous cheering and applause.

Mr. Churchman—May I ask the gentleman who nominated John C. Fremont (Mr. Love) if Colonel Fremont is willing to run?

Mr. Love—John C. Fremont is always willing to serve the Republican party whenever he can. [Immense applause.] He always has been, and ever will be, ready to assume any position which patriotism demands. [Renewed applause.]

Mr. Churchman—Then I move that he be nominated by acclamation. [Cheers]

Mr. Myers was satisfied that Mr. Fremont would not accept the nomination; that he was very much occupied with his own private affairs, and would prefer, at the present time, not to be placed in a public position.

After some conversation, in which it was understood that it would be most consistent with Colonel Fremont's wishes not to be nominated, Mr. Love withdrew his name.

Mr. Rankin—One word in regard to the nomination of Edward Stanley. I think that I am justified, from a conversation that I recently had with Mr. Stanley—unless the gentleman who made the nomination is fully authorized so to do—in withdrawing his name. I yesterday called upon Mr. Stanley for the purpose of conversing with him in reference to this very contingency—as to whether he would serve on our electoral ticket. While he expressed the deepest sympathy in our cause, he furnished, what seemed to me, very good and sufficient reasons of a personal character, explaining why he did not wish his name to be used prominently in this campaign, and I am sure that we should very decidedly meet his personal wishes by withdrawing his name.

Mr. Stanley's name was withdrawn by Mr. Boucher. He was not aware as to whether Mr. Stanley would run or not. He knew that as an

elector Mr. Stanley would be very acceptable to the Republicans in his portion of the State.

Mr. A. A. DeLong, of Sacramento, withdrew his own name from before the Convention.

DECLINATION OF MR. A. H. MYERS.

Mr. Myers said—As my name has been placed in nomination, I hope the Convention will indulge me in a few remarks. I presume that most of you know me. This is the fourth Republican State Convention in which I have made my appearance. Since 1848, I have supported the great principles upon which the Republicans of this day have planted themselves. It is well known to every gentlemen who lived in the Northwest in 1848, or since that time, that no man could secure an election to any prominent position except he came out fairly and squarely and indorsed the Wilmot Proviso. I have been present in Legislative Conventions, called to elect United States Senators, in which Whitcomb and Bright (Bright is now one of the Senators from Indiana, and colleague of Mr. Fitch) were compelled themselves to indorse the proviso before they could be nominated. I stand here, to-day, as a Republican. Last year I thought proper to fight in a different regiment of the same great army. Having received a nomination, I went forward to discharge my duty, and I am not willing to give in to any man—I don't care what position he may have maintained—I don't give in to any man in regard to my devotion to the great principles of the Republican party; but I have no idea that I can secure a nomination and election on the part of this Convention. I don't seek it. One of my warm personal friends put my name in nomination, and I declined for these reasons: I am unwilling to take the stump; and were I to receive this nomination I would do it. I regard success religiously as a duty, not only in other States, but in this State, and I am one of those who believe that success may be attained in this State, and I look with suspicion upon the Republicanism of any man who thinks otherwise.

"I will try," is invincible. A band of intelligent, heroic men—an army of courageous hearts, with strong confidence in the justice, truth and rectitude of their cause, will be invincible in the coming contest. I could not secure this nomination; but, gentlemen, you shall hear from me. I am at work now, and shall continue to work. If we do not succeed this year, success will come next year. The ball has started from the mountains of Sierra, and it will continue to roll until this glorious, golden country shall have been redeemed from the blot and curse of a corrupt Democracy. [Applause.] For this we pray, and for this we labor. Let them call us fanatics—let them revile us as much as they please, sooner or later we will be successful, and when we do succeed, our triumph will be a glorious one. We do not deserve any credit for what we have done; we have not earned anything yet. As the noble old chieftain of the Republican cause in this State, Col. Baker, said to me, "You don't deserve any credit yet; no man has earned anything. We must fight before we can take our wages." I am always glad to see converts coming in, and but give them a chance, and a noble band, full of zeal and energy, will effect an entrance. I am glad to see new converts here, and we will have hosts of them. Our anti-Lecompton friends will come in. Most of them had their souls wrapped up in David C. Broderick. They loved him, and they had a right to love him, and that love was never betrayed. [A Voice, Never!] A more noble, open, glorious, manly statesman never lived than David C. Broderick. [Sensation and applause.] The proudest act of my life will be to have canvassed this State with him, and I will tell you that I would rather live in retirement all my life than to vote for Stephen A. Douglas, the professed friend who vilely betrayed him, and the man who voted for the confirmation

of the appointment of Calhoun Benham, one of the seconds in that fatal duel, as United States District Attorney for California. [Great sensation.] I love pluck, and I want the Republican party to be a game party. Never say die; never give up the ship, and you will always find me fighting in some regiment, in some department of this great army against this corrupt slave oligarchy; and may God speed the right! [Mr. Myers retired amid great applause.]

MR. SIBLEY'S NAME WITHDRAWN.

C. Hillyer, of Placerville—I ask if the gentleman who placed in nomination P. H. Sibley, of Placer, had authority to do so. I hear his name in nomination, and as I come from Placer county, I wish to know whether he authorized it.

The delegate who nominated Mr. Sibley, replied that he had not done it by the authority of that gentlemen, but because of his admiration for the man.

Mr. Hillyer—I talked with Sibley a week ago. He is not desirous of running. He worked for the party last year with zeal and judgment. This year he would prefer not to run.

Mr. Sibley's name was withdrawn.

DECLINATION OF MR. HANSON.

G. M. Hanson, of Sutter—I desire to return my thanks for the honor done me, in placing my name in nomination. On one occasion I accepted a nomination from the Republican State Convention, which sat in this city some six years ago, this spring—when men where hard to be found who would volunteer to go as delegates to the National Convention. I accepted the nomination at that time, and went as a delegate to the National Convention. (Applause.) But I find now that there are an abundance of names before this Convention; all gentlemen, far better qualified to serve the Republican party, in the capacity of Elector, than I am; and in their behalf, I respectfully decline and withdraw my name.

DECLINATION OF MR. CHURCHMAN.

James Churchman, of Nevada—Some gentleman has put my name forward. I feel perhaps as strong a faith in the Republican cause, and as much earnest desire for its success, as any one. I was one of those who hoisted the Republican flag in Nevada, when it was sworn by a crowd, collected for the purpose, that there should be no such gathering held, and that they would brickbat the church it was held in. But it was held. The people with blue shirts were with us. The times are different now, and not only in that particular. At that time, I was, myself, rich. I spent, of my own means, freely, in aid of the cause. But a change has come over the spirit of my dreams since then. While making another start in the world, I came down here last February. I, with others, was, at the time, and had been for a long time, running one of those expensive things—tunnels—to gut one of our mountains. I felt very confident, that a few weeks more, and we had it right there. On the strength of that—on that hope that a few weeks more would put me in funds—though I qualified my pledge, saying, "If I could make arrangements in money matters"—I said to the Convention, in February, that I intended to go on to the Atlantic States, and stump for the Presidential nominee. I am sorry to say that it has flashed in the pan. I will tell you the plain truth, for I always act honestly, it is as much as I can do to support my own family. I have broken down, and have to begin again. If I could raise the means, I would stump this State. [Great applause.] For me to stand here, and be nominated, after what has been said, would be like endorsing a man's note, and be-

coming security for its payment, when the endorser could not raise the dust. For that reason, I withdraw my name. [Applause.]

NOMINATION AND DECLINATION OF WM. RABE.

The name of William Rabe of San Francisco, was placed in nomination.

Mr. Rabe—I return thanks for the honor, but I wish to tell you at once that I have an office which I have discharged and hope I will continue to discharge to the satisfaction of every Republican in the State. As Secretary of the State Central Committee, I have devoted all my time and what little money I have to spare as readily and willingly as need be. [Sensation.] I have within the last three months spent about \$600 in money, written over one thousand letters, and have disseminated fourteen thousand five hundred documents. [Great applause.] I am satisfied to continue to do so. [Applause.] I do not say what I have in laudation of myself; I only say that my kind friend comes to that conclusion because he knows what I have done. Other men situated so that they could do it easily would have done it as well. My situation is fortunate; I have nothing to bother me, and you can't get me out of humor if you will only let me alone (tremendous applause), and, Mr. President, I will do all I can, but you must expect me to remain as I am, for I am too old to change; I am forty-two years old, and you cannot work me over again no how you can fix it. [Great applause.] Mr. President, I hope to be of some influence, as I speak some German, French, Spanish and a *little* English (laughter); I will do my best; I will go all over the State and will fight the fight as I did in 1856. All I ask of you, my worthy friends, as I said before, is to let me alone. [Terrific applause.]

NOMINATION FOR THE SOUTHERN DISTRICT.

Mr. Fargo—I move that the Convention proceed to the nomination of an Elector from the Southern portion of the State. Agreed to.

The Secretary read the names of those in nomination from that district—A. W. Blair, of Monterey; A. H. Myers, of Alameda; L. C. Gunn, of Tuolumne; Antonio Maria Pico.

Mr. Myers desired to positively decline being a candidate.

The Secretary called the roll with the following result: A. W. Blair, 141 votes; A. H. Myers, 37; L. C. Gunn, 9; Pio Pico, 3.

A. W. Blair having received a majority of the votes cast, was declared the nominee, and, upon motion, his nomination was made unanimous.

NOMINATION FOR THE SAN FRANCISCO DISTRICT.

Mr. Fargo moved that the Convention next proceed to the nomination of an Elector for the San Francisco District. Agreed to.

The Secretary read the names of the candidates from that district: Charles A. Washburn and Fletcher M. Haight.

Mr. Rankin said: Mr. President—I should like to say a few words upon this matter before the vote is taken. We have from San Francisco two nominations; both of the nominees are gentlemen for whom I have the highest respect. I placed in nomination the name of Fletcher M. Haight. I did so with pleasure, so far as he is concerned, and with pain, with something of regret, with regard to the position of another gentleman, Mr. Charles A. Washburn, whose name is also in nomination. But I put in nomination Mr. Haight from this feeling, that we were bound as a Republican Convention, in making all our nominations, to make if we could precisely those which, all things considered, would give greatest strength to our

ticket. And I feel bound to say to the Convention, in all candor and kindness, precisely what I have said to my friend, Mr. Washburn, personally, that I think it preferable that Mr. Haight should be nominated rather than Mr. Washburn. Mr. Washburn is confined, and must necessarily continue to be so, by his editorial duties. I do not see how he can do any service outside of that position—any considerable service. Mr. Haight is certainly not so confined. In his place, Mr. Washburn can do the party great service in time to come, as he has in times past. His services I certainly fully appreciate myself, and I doubt not but that they are recognized by every member of this Convention, and by the Republican party throughout the State. In nominating Mr. Haight, I acted without being specially intimate with him, without even having consulted with him personally, but feeling that he was a man of such influence and position, of such respectable standing in the party and in the community at large, in the State, that it would be an eminently fit and creditable nomination for us to make. Mr. Haight, as I presume you all know, is a man of mature years, a strong Republican and able lawyer. At one of our conventions, he was nominated for the office of Judge in our Supreme Court. He is a Western man, a personal acquaintance and friend of Mr. Lincoln's; a man whose record, every way, is unexceptionable. I submit, that he is a man of such years, of such position, of such reputation, that I am justified in asserting, that he would give substantial strength and character to the ticket, both in San Francisco and throughout the State generally. I, on the whole, therefore, while I have none but the kindest feelings for Mr. Washburn, regretting exceedingly that these two names should have been brought together, as rivals for the same office, believe and urge that the interests of the Republican cause, in California, would be best subserved and promoted by the selection of the candidate for elector whom I have named.

Mr. Flint—I desire to say a few words. I have heard one gentleman (Mr. Haight), from San Francisco, lauded highly, and he deserves it. I have heard none of the San Francisco delegates as yet speak of the other gentleman in nomination, Mr. Washburn. I desire as a friend of Mr. Washburn, to say a few words in his behalf. I believe there are no objections to Mr. Washburn's receiving that nomination even if Mr. Haight should receive another, also. I think gentlemen mistake when they suppose that stump speaking is what carries elections. It is the man who sits at the editor's table every day, speaks to his hundred thousand people, who has the influence. Give me one editor to a dozen or a hundred stump speakers. There is Greeley, of the New York *Tribune*. [Applause, mingled with hisses.] I will not say he has done as much as Mr. Seward, but he has aided Mr. Seward in doing what he has to build up the Republican party. To Charles A. Washburn the Republican party in California owe a great deal, and they should be willing to pay some tribute of regard to him. I may say, then, that he should and ought to occupy a high position in a great party. I do not say this in disparagement of Mr. Haight. I know him to be a most admirable gentleman; but when the qualities of the two gentlemen are brought into view, I believe Mr. Washburn is by far the most active politician. He has devoted his life to it. [Applause.]

H. S. Love—Mr. President, I cordially indorse the nomination of Mr. Washburn. I have known him many years. During all that time, Sir, he has been identified with our cause; he has been an exponent of our principles. He has labored in sea-

son and out of season. He has done more and sacrificed more in the Republican cause than any other one man in California. Under circumstances which might well make a bold man hesitate, I have seen Mr. Washburn foremost in the fight. Yes, sir, you and I have seen the day when, to avow and defend Republican principles here, required nerve and courage. In that dark time, Mr. Washburn was always to be found at the post of duty. Now that we have become a great and powerful party, I rejoice to see that his services are remembered. I hope that no vote in this Convention will be given against him. He has earned our unanimous support—let us give it to him. (Long and loud applause.)

Judge Barbank followed in a similar strain. His remarks were received with applause.

Mr. J. H. Atkinson, said that Mr. Washburn was the founder of the Republican party in California, having organized the first "Provisional Committee," which called the first State Convention that ever assembled on this coast. Our enemies having no answer to make to our arguments, revenged themselves by an effort to break up the Convention. Mr. Atkinson concluded by expressing his cordial concurrence in the recommendations of the preceding speakers.

The Secretary called the roll, with the following result: Charles A. Washburn, 194 votes; Fletcher M. Haight, 38 votes.

Mr. Washburn, having received a majority of all the votes cast, was declared the nominee; and on motion of Mr. Hillyer of Placer, his nomination was made unanimous.

Mr. Washburn was loudly called for.

MR. WASHBURN'S SPEECH.

In response to a general call, Mr. Washburn rose and said—Mr. President and gentlemen of the Convention: I shall say but a very few words. I will not take up the time of the Convention by making any extended remarks. Gentlemen, I thank you for this nomination. I have labored long for the cause of Republicanism in the State of California. I shall continue to work in the same service and with the same zeal until our principles are triumphant, or until I can no longer spend my energies in that direction. [Applause.] I shall not be influenced as to the course which I shall pursue by this nomination; for in any event I am in the field, and at work for the Republican organization, until Lincoln and Hamlin are elected. [Applause.] It may be that I shall then wish to retire. During this campaign, however, rest assured, I shall endeavor to do my duty to its fullest requirement. [Great applause.]

MR. W. H. WEEKS IS ELECTED.

Mr. Foote—I move that we proceed to nominate an Elector from the central portion of the State.

Agreed to.

Mr. Foote—In regard to our candidate, (Weeks,) I can say, that he possesses the mental and physical qualities for the position; that, if he cannot split rails, he can maul Democrats. (Applause.)

Mr. T. J. Blakeney withdrew the name of Mark Hopkins.

Mr. Myers desired to hear from Mr. Baldwin.

Mr. Baldwin stated that his only claim was, that he was a thorough Republican. If the Convention preferred Mr. Weeks, he had the same preference with the majority. (Applause.)

The vote resulted as follows: W. H. Weeks received 165 votes; G. W. Baldwin 38; G. W. Reed, 14; L. C. Gunn, 2.

On motion of Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Weeks' nomination was made unanimous, amid great applause.

Mr. Rabe—I move that a Committee of Two be appointed to wait upon Mr. Weeks, and inform him of his nomination.

Mr. Love—I second the motion.

Which was carried.

The President appointed such Committee.

MR. C. A. TUTTLE IS ELECTED.

The names of S. D. Parker, of Tehama, and L. C. Gunn, of Tuolumne, were withdrawn, and the nomination of Mr. Chas. A. Tuttle was made by acclamation.

BLAIR WITHDRAWN AND ANTONIO MARIO PICO SUBSTITUTED.

After some conversation as to the propriety of nominating a native Californian on the Electoral ticket, it was concluded to withdraw Mr. Blair, it being uncertain whether it would be convenient for him to serve, and no one being there from his District (Monterey) to give that assurance, although there were many who knew Mr. Blair, and indorsed him as a Republican of the first stamp, Don Antonio Mario Pico was nominated and elected.

Mr. Pico's nomination was, upon motion, made unanimous.

SUBSTITUTES.

On motion of Mr. Love, the State Central Committee were authorized to fill any vacancies that may occur in the Electoral Ticket, by death, resignation, or otherwise.

PROXIES.

Mr. Rabe introduced a resolution relative to proxies, placed in his hands by Mr. Hillyer.

Resolved, That hereafter, in Republican State Conventions, no delegate shall be allowed to appoint a proxy to represent a county, or any portion of a county, unless the person holding such proxy shall be a resident of the county from which the proxy is issued; and that the State Central Committee be instructed to publish the resolution with the call for the Convention.

Unanimously adopted.

RESOLUTIONS.

Gilbert A. Grant, from the Committee on Resolutions, presented the following:

Resolved, That with a just and patriotic pride, we endorse the action of the National Convention, held at Chicago, on the 16th day of May, 1860.

Resolved, That the broad, comprehensive, and national sentiments expressed in the platform adopted at that Convention, meet with our heartiest approval; and, standing by them, we earnestly invite all opponents of the present corrupt Administration to join with us in hurling it from power, and in bringing back the Government to the principles of the Fathers of the Republic.

Resolved, That Abraham Lincoln, of the Great West, is the appropriate representative of the great principles of the Republican party; the fit opponent of the sectional, factional, dissonant and disordered "Democracy." Known at home as "Honest Old Abe,"—the sturdy champion of freedom and justice—we commend him to the free voters of this State as a man possessing alike the genius to will and the courage and determination to maintain, at all hazards, the integrity of the Union and the honor of the Government.

Resolved, That in Hannibal Hamlin, we have an honest, courageous and talented statesman; one who had the courage and honor to desert a mighty and triumphant party to which he had long been attached, at the first moment when it became the assailant of the constitutional principles of the Government.

Resolved. That the great Republican, William H. Seward, ever the warm and judicious friend of California, is the object of the unalterable love and admiration of the Republicans of this State; and whether in office or in retirement, our affections will follow and surround him. And to

him, constantly, will our pride and patriotism point as one of the wisest men and greatest statesmen of any country or of any age.

These resolutions were received with unbounded applause, and while the last was being read—at the announcement of the name of William H. Seward—every member of the Convention rose involuntarily to his feet, while cheer after cheer, long, loud and enthusiastic, pealed through the hall, making the building shake from its foundation. The wild excitement was so great and prolonged that the President found it difficult to again restore order.

By Mr. Rankin—

Resolved, That two members be added to the State Central Committee, the new members to be residents of San Francisco.

Mr. Love moved to lay the resolution on the table, and on that motion he called for the previous question.

The vote was immediately taken on the motion to lay on the table, which motion was carried by the following vote: Ayes, 151; Noes, 54.

SPEECH OF W. H. WEEKS.

Mr. Weeks, in response to a unanimous call, came forward and said:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: If I did not assure you that I thank you most heartily and cordially for the honor I have just received at your hands, I should but ill express my feelings. But, as a legal man, I early learned this lesson, that the lawyer who commits the cause of his client to a hungry jury, does that which is about tantamount to a conviction. You have been laboring here hard and earnestly all day, and I will not detain you with a speech. I will say this, however, that we are to have a meeting this evening, and if there is no better or abler man to address you, I will speak myself.

This much I do say: I am for the ticket—both ends of it and the middle. [Great applause.] Lincoln I know not but by reputation; but every one I hear speak of him, gives him the character of a man admirably qualified to maul rails and split Democrats. [Great laughter and applause.] But the truth is that the whole institution is so completely split up that in that calling there will be but little for "Honest Old Abe" to do. The other man I know. I have known him from my boyhood. He was the Gamaliel at whose feet I learned Democracy. I stumped the State of Maine with Hamlin when only sixteen years old. That is, he did most of the talking, and I held the horses. [Great applause.] Then Hannibal Hamlin and I little thought that I should in this year be prepared to stump the State of California for him, and so far as my time, means and ability will go, aid in his elevation to the Vice President's chair. This I shall most certainly do. [Applause.] The future is pregnant with great things.

We see that Democratic party, which, ever since I can recollect, has marched its serried columns to the battle with an assurance of victory, entirely disorganized. Never, while I was in the ranks of that party, did I feel the least sentiment of doubt as to what the result would be. Sometimes beaten, we returned again to the charge with unshaken columns and unwavering step. We fought you in '56. I say this to you, who have the honor of being old Republicans, who fought the battle under Fremont, that I fought against you then. That battle of '56 I fought in the Democratic ranks, and fought for what I believed the best interests of the State and country, and also the best interests of the Democracy. But what have they given us? Fish-guts and bones. [Great applause, and cries

of "That's so!"] The whole thing, the whole institution, has been dragged in the dirt beneath the feet of a little knot of Southern seceders.

Now, on the part of the Southern wing of the Democracy, that demoralised and sectional party, it is the determination that they will either rule or ruin; while the Northern wing is determined that it will keep its greasy hands in the public crib, way up to the elbow, or they will ruin too. (Applause.) Between these factions the Democratic party has gone in—died—and every principle formerly right on that banner, has been evaded by fanaticism, sectionalism and strife. (Great Applause.) This fight is going on; it is "irrepressible" in their own party. Botts is leading one wing—and he is the best leader they ever had in the State; for he is the only man who, regardless of consequences, dares avow his sentiments. The rest of the miserable hounds, from Dan Gelwicks down (applause) are ready to worship any god and bow at any altar which gives them the assurance of stealings from the public treasury.

Gentlemen, I thank you for your kindness, and I shall see you again before the ides of November.

Mr. Weeks retired amid great and prolonged applause.

Mr. Love—I move that the unanimous thanks of this Convention be tendered to its officers for the able and impartial manner in which they have discharged their duties.

Mr. Love put this resolution to vote, and it was carried by acclamation.

President Nunes then addressed the Convention as follows:

Gentlemen of the Convention: Our labors are now concluded. We have successfully and harmoniously accomplished the business for which we assembled, and can return to our constituents with the assurance of having presented an acceptable ticket for their suffrages, and one which will faithfully represent their preference for that great Illinoisian, Abraham Lincoln, [cheers,] and the distinguished son of New England, Hannibal Hamlin. [Tremendous applause.]

The Chair highly appreciates the kindness which the Convention, by its resolution, has expressed towards it, as well as the indulgence that has been extended to it throughout the day. It is conscious of the intention to have been considerate and impartial, and flattered by your voices into the belief that success has not been entirely wanting.

Gentlemen, the incipency of the campaign having been surmounted, it remains for us to achieve the residue. We have presented a ticket to our fellow citizens of the State; let us now return to our homes and see that it is elected—devoting our best energies to that end, until the sun sets on the night of the election. [Great applause.]

RAILS.

On motion of Mr. Fargo, of Alameda, a Committee, composed of Messrs. Fargo, Hillyer, and Hansom, was appointed to confer with the State Central Committee, of Illinois, relative to obtaining a Lincoln split rail.

Carried, amid much merriment.

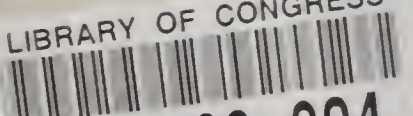
It was suggested that if the original rails were all gone, the Committee be authorized to get Abe to split a few more. [Laughter.]

On motion of Mr. Love, the Convention then adjourned *sine die*, after giving nine cheers for Lincoln and Hamlin, and nine cheers for the Republican Electoral Ticket of California.

JOSEPH A. NUNES,

President.

C. G. LINCOLN, }
R. E. C. STEARNS, } Secretaries.

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